

/101 cont./

361
[101] There were two settlements of "docile" Bakairi: the aldeamento on the Rio Novo, as this first was called, after a tributary of the Arinos, and the aldeamento on the Paranatinga. The two villages are not yet old; all the adults were born farther up the Paranatinga, on the "Salto" /waterfall; see the glossary. [131] p. 172 /; the Bakairi, however, were probably spread over this entire region in small hordes, as is shown by the fact that they were noted as far as the Rio das Mortes. In the twenties, when the gold-seeker expedition under the leadership of P. Lopez pushed into this region, they were converted to Christianity, on which occasion, as Reginaldo related, his grandfather and many others lost their lives.

823: /102/ We eagerly inquired as to whether he knew about a river beyond the Paranatinga? Today, he replied, this region is [131] completely strange to them, he remembered from his youth, [101] however, that one was supposed to come to a large river if one went from the Paranatinga toward the rising sun, and on this river there were said to be Bakairi still living, the "antigos" /the ancients/, who were not Christians.

361
648: The two aldeamentos are under the administration of the [622] "Director dos Indios" in Cuyabá /Cuiabá/. Reginaldo is a Brazilian captain, his successor as chief of the tribe, Joaquim, is a lieutenant. Our seeing no women was due to the fact that they were living in an aldeamento two leguas away; the huts which we occupied were used only when the farm work required it or when there were visitors. Reginaldo /illustration appears here/ completely forgot to say how sorry he was that he could greet us only as a grain widower.

[162]: The village numbered six huts; the population amounted to 55: 16 men, 19 women, 20 children. The soldiers were usually quartered in the big house that Reginaldo otherwise occupied with a few others: a rectangle 57 paces long and five paces wide, which was divided into a number of separate rooms by means of partitions. We occupied the guest house -- it was only 17 paces [191] long. It was modern construction, learned from the colonists. Twenty minutes away we found two deserted old-style huts,

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Clauss coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.

• 648 They are on good terms with the Corof, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.



João and Joaquina.

648 The Bacairi mannos /meek Bacairi/ how to authority: in their hearts they are the same people as the antiquas.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days: Clauss worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glomary that ap-

[115] pears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Castro, too,

122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

/120 cont./

[144] mother, but that among his forefathers, as among Reginaldo's, mixture with "Brazilian" blood had taken place. This, however, seemed to be more a conclusion based on the wavy, soft hair of the two, rather than on definite knowledge. In any case, it was noteworthy that Luis declared the two brothers João and Antonio to be the purest Bakairi; to me, too, they had seemed the most typical physiognomies and most resembled the Rio Novo character. Since Antonio is the one who was induced to accompany us and could thus be photographed in Rio, I may call attention to his picture as the most faithful reproduction of a true Bakairi.

[126] [142] Unfortunately the handsome youth had a slightly shortened leg as the result of a fracture, so I contented myself with a bust portrait. The defect was not very pronounced, by the way, and /121/ /illustration appears here/ /122/ the awkwardness that Antonio, strength and agility themselves, presents in full figure amidst the group of Kameraden /see the glossary, p. 171 / (page 28) is largely due to the anxious moment in front of the photographer's apparatus.

Wilhelm made all the other portraits with the camera clara.

162 Carlotta was a Pareci brought back from Diamantino and the wife of the absent Captain Felipe; her small eyes and the root of her nose, which was flat from eyebrow level to the inner corner of the eye, distinguished her strikingly from the Bakairi women. The two Cajibi -- a tribe that lives on the lower Rio Verde, a left tributary of the Paranaíba -- had been caught in the forest as children. /Illustration appears here./ The two [48] [52] young and pretty creatures were given as wives to the two oldest matrimonial cripples of the tribe, Caetano and Miguel, for the immoral reason that the youngest, as the best workers, belong to the mightier ones. Delicate skin, fine little nose under the likewise flat root, eye slits narrowed and drawn up toward the outside, in connection with which, however, the sharply folded upper lid did not overlap, they reminded me of the Japanese type, especially Caetano's not very feminine little wife.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 20]

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

574
553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake, 837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakairí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are

[829] good people. Later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel; while that good creature, old Captain Mémo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

000 Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
 181 fishing: Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
 • 648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated
 to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "âla Bacairi" (it is enough
 Bacairi) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock
 was resting partly on the ground: two women squatted beside it
 and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying
 little mother.

731 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-
 fisher and the socô-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
 532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well
 as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented
 the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with
 modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking: they are held
 in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist
 can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate
 /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
 353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and
 arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
 [296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the
 way, was better than among the earlier Bacairi. A few modest old
 622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief
 and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during
 the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
 152 terror: they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively,
 most of all the mighty herald. His "âla, âla" was very humble
 and urgent.

/93 cont. /

126 stored, dark yellow reed diadems, such as Lachu is wearing on
 524 Plate 6, ² others with radiating tips, large Panpipes, an ear deco-
 883 rated with drawings, spinning whorls of the simplest type, that
 301 is, disks made of potsberds, and a quantity of remarkable
 234 cylinder-shaped sticks, which are covered with ornamentation
 177 and worn on the back at festivals. But in the equipment of these
 third Bakairi it was clearly shown that we were with the section
 of the tribe living next to the rest of the Kulisehu Indians; all
 kinds of imported goods were present and were designated as such
 439 here. The Bakairi do not make any pots themselves and do not
 323 themselves have a place where they might fetch stones for stone
 axes, but here we were immediately told that the pots came
 from the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and the stone axes from the
 Trumaf. Among the pots one in the shape of a turtle represented
 an absolute masterpiece of primitive plastic art, on which the head,
 tail, and feet, as well as the shell drawing, were magnificently
 worked out. From the Austo we found a half-broken clay doll,
 also originating from the Mehinakú, balls of finely spun cotton,
 from the Trumaf and Suyá, dainty feather caps. From our own
 possessions of 1884 we discovered two iron chisels, parts of a
 ramrod, which had been sharpened to a point on stones.

• 418 We met a Nahuqú in person: unfortunately, the man was
 732 obviously an idiot and had little to offer for my purposes. It is
 strange that this is not an isolated phenomenon: the Kutenad
 of 1884 had a simple-minded Bakairi among them, the Yuruna
 likewise an Arara Indian definitely feeble-minded, and it seems
 to me I often noticed similar instances. Do the people become
 stupid in the new environment or are only the stupid specimens
 entrusted to neighbors for their use?

126 In the flute-house anthropological measurements and photo-
 graphs were taken in exchange for beads. In this village there
 was a pronounced Semitic type, of which Plate 13 represents a
 classic example. The people submitted to everything and called
 the caliper compass ndna, "moon." Only one man was indignant
 when, after Ehrenreich had measured him from head to foot in
 all directions, I handed him the fee of three beautiful, large
 153 beads. He wanted to have as many beads as there were measurements.
 2 [See p. 138 -- Analysis]

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuqaf.

Intercourse between the Bakalrf and Nahuqaf. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Taurikums. Over-night. Mehinakf in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakf. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyf and the Trumaf.

Without question the Nahuqaf have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakalrf. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuqaf words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karalben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuqaf. Tumayana, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakalrf of the Mehinakf living downstream from the Nahuqaf did not know half a dozen words.

The Nahuqaf who lived in the third village of the Bakalrf accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakalrf to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakalrf from the harpy village, including Chief Porim, had also /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakalrf, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuqaf. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Hfiri of the Bakalrf, or Hfira of the Nahuqaf in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish: the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught, one large, meter-long bagadf that Antonio had caught with iguana

Waka SP18
Mehinaki
Yaruma SP25
Nahugua

W /130 cont. /

132 rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W more than 15°. Our good Mehinaki were unhappy that we did
131 not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices;
they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy,
and complained incessantly "ulipe, ulipe!"

W In the harbor of the Mehinaki we acquired another canoe;
122 meanwhile the Auetó who had accompanied us this far had dis-
appeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also
missing.

Y The Nahugua village was in the middle of the piki harvest.
245 Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the piki lay in piles outside
Y and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds,
251 the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping
the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Chryocara
Y butyrosum. No pogu, but piki juice; the piki seeds with an
131 almond-like taste, an electuary "piki herb" not at all bad in
Y moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin
164 affected; one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y Tumayasa was given piki as a parting gift for the trip. Only
123 one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we
131 would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about piki.

9 In Bakaizi village III, which, by the way, the Nahugua
648 accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
731 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the
previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
532 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
122 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.

501 Bakaizi village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
Aramóke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us
122 beigat which we could have offered the most distinguished tea
guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found
a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance
overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

/179 cont./

*171 carried, but rather saved them for acknowledgment by his con-
301 temporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the
more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion,
the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he
wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While
he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty
with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good
shot: he pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was
secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes
hit upon this; some of them were soon not content with ear holes,
but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at
first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a
wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result,
worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly
felt "better tailored," in the fullest sense of the expression, if
he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than
if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of
the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was
turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary
characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely
been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing
thus became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely
felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with
ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

*171 The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself
304 through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguish-
619 ing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not
only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons
within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often
formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to
tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting
marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kid-
napping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women,
hence children were marked so that they could be recognised, as
the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the
Bororo, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

/179 cont./

+171 although he understood not a word of Bororó, was her son stolen
304 years before by enemies; she wailed and lamented loudly all
619 night long. then it was strange to see how the Bororó carefully
undertook to examine on the half-laughing, half-outraged Antonio
his lower lip, which among them is pierced as early as infancy
and unanimously set him free when, instead of their little lip-
hole, they found a pierced nasal septum. Thus among the
Bakaírf there were abducted Pareuf women; among the Nahuqá,
Mehinaki women; among the Suyá, the captured Manitsauá,
who were immediately distinguishable from the rest by the tribal
marking. /180/ The artificial injury thus developed into a regu-
lar arrangement for expediency. Moreover, the foreign was re-
garded as ugly or comical, the indigenous as beautiful and noble.

The piercing of the ear lobe is generally widespread among
the men of all tribes. It serves solely for feather ornaments.
Among no tribe of the Kulisehu do the women have pierced ear-
lobes, and no woman wears feather ornaments of any kind any-
where else on her body. the woman does not hunt -- the origin
from the hunting trophy is still unmistakably distinct. The ear
of the boy is pierced at the time when he begins to practice with
a small-sized bow and arrow.* /Fig. 12 appears here./

*Among the Suyá men and women wear rolls
of palm leaf strips in the slit-open ear-lobe,
which is gradually extended into a long rein,
but here, too, feather ornaments are confined
to the men.

The piercing of the lower part of the nasal septum, so that
the alae, slightly turned upward, rest on the object stuck through
it, is found only among the Bakaírf, on the Paranatinga and Rio
Novo, on the Batevy, and in the first Kulisehu village among both
sexes, in the second Kulisehu village only among the men, in
the third neither among men nor women. This geographical
distribution makes it seem not improbable to me that the custom
is based on that of the Pareuf, /181/ who were formerly in active

/181 cont./

*171
304
[648] contact, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with the Western Bakaïrî, of whom we still found two women, kidnapped as children, in the Paranatinga village. The Paressî pierced the ear lobes of their women so that they could always be distinguished from the Bakaïrî women, and their men pierced the nasal septum, inserted a little



Fig. 12. Wooden mask of the Bakaïrî, with ear and nose feathers.

piece of reed in it, and stuck into only one end of this a long arara feather or ordinary toucan feather, whereas the ear ornament of the women consisted of a little triangular piece of nut shell.

301
304
[178]
[532] Among the Bakaïrî today feathers are no longer worn in the nose, but we found masks with a hole in the elongated septum of the wooden nose, through which an arara feather stuck into a piece of reed projected out on either side. There is also a difference in the size of the hole among men and women, to which my attention was especially drawn by the Bakaïrî themselves; in it the men wear a thin piece of kambayuwa reed, in which the feather or a thin bone is inserted, the women a thick kambayuwa peg or a thick bone or stone. The latter is never used by the men.

/218 cont./

*171 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible
174 with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were pri-
433 marily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course
of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy: on the other
hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled
upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals
and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded,
the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts
of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and
hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There
were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar
to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose
feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking
parrots and cawing araras; he let those that he happened to
catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron
or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification
of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or
some other predatory bird; he had lizards hanging by their tails
from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the
annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the
utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established
near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible
animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the
Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite
repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had
raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

*171 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the
174 fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned
433 to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agricul-
ture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improve-
ment, nevertheless there were small indications that showed
what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the use-
ful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own ex-
perience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the
women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact
that the Bakaïrf-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/297 cont. /

According to everything that the natives told us about the festivals, they primarily amounted to what they thought were riotous feasting and drinking bouts. Bakairi legend describes the origin to us in the same way. Kame, the tribal ancestor of the Arinos tribes, built the first flute house, carved the first flute, invited his friends to the dance, and served them starch-paste. Keri, the tribal ancestor of the Bakairi, who most eagerly competed with Kame in invention, for his part invited Kame to the dance; the legend tells us in what manner the festival took place and speaks of the makanari and the imeo, the straw costumes without face-marks, but with characterizing and partly disguising head-dresses, as Keri's invention.

"Keri, too, called his people together. Toward evening they went dancing on the village plaza. Then from the house Keri fetched pogu to be drunk. Immediately thereafter they plaited makanari. Keri called Kame. Many people came and Keri was master of the dance. They danced all day. Toward evening they rested. After dark they danced all through the night. Early in the morning they went to the river to bathe. After the bath they came to the flute house. They began with the imeo and danced the whole day. They likewise danced all night. -- Then the festival was at an end."

A noteworthy feature of the legend is the circumstance that the different tribes united for the dance festival. It is a universal custom that the villages invite one another to the big festivals. Friendly neighboring tribes also send numerous participants. In 1884, when we met the Trumai and Kamayurá /Camayura/ together (see p. 105), the two tribes had just celebrated a joint festival.

For one thing it is understandable under these circumstances that an exchange and leveling out between the customs and dance gear of the tribes takes place. /298/ Each tribe knew the songs of the neighboring tribes, without understanding their content precisely, as we learned in numerous cases; one tribe would also become acquainted with new types of masks from another, and finally the mereschu design, to which I shall come back after describing the masks, gained its general distribution.

/331 cont./

- *171 not always in the best hands, and goes to the son, or, if there is
622 none, to the son of the sister. In Maigéri the chief had died and
left only a daughter, "my intended" in the Bakairi idyl. Tumayana,
the brother of the widow, now became temporary chief: as soon
as the girl married, her husband took his place. She received a
quantity of the beads which we had given to others; the chief's
stool belonged to her.
- *171 A number of characteristics of matriarchy are recognizable
611 in the little that I am able to report about these conditions. The
sons belong to the tribe of the mother; Antonio said that if one
of the Bakairi /Bacairi/ married to Pareusí women had children,
they would be Pareusí. Which, of course, in the case of abducted
women, can only be meant very theoretically. In our time
582 marriages took place between Mehinakú and Nahuquá, between
648 Auetó and Yaulapiti, as well as between Kamayurá /Camayura/,
and Auetó, between Kamayurá and Mehinakú, between Batovy
Bakairi and Kustenaú /Custenaú/, between Kulisehu Bakairi and
Nahuquá. Just as Mehinakú women lived among the Nahuquá,
so had Auetó men married Yaulapiti women and lived in two
houses somewhat apart from the Auetó village; they were called
"Arauití." On the other hand, a Kustenaú man and a Nahuquá

*The Suyá chief who in 1884 gave us the map
of the river course was also called an "Arauití"
by the Auetó chief. His strikingly small lip-
plug was explained by the fact that he had had
the operation later, he himself traced his
geographical knowledge back to his own
journeys.

- man had married and lived among the Bakairi, whereas we
never observed the opposite, that Bakairi women married into
another tribe. Pauhaga, from the first Bakairi village on the
Batovy, had as his wife Awfa's daughter from Maigéri and, when
his wife was ready to give birth, came with her to Awfa's house
on the Kulisehu, so that she, or rather both of them, as we shall

/332 cont./

* 171 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/. " this is perfectly
562 applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish
subordination was very much in the background. The woman
needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" when-
ever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected
from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she
walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she
hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest
she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any
possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and,
if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and
children ran into the forest.

* 171 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had
681 no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere
123 of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes
674 of any kind, he always answered that such things probably hap-
pened in former times, but no longer occur now.

* 171 Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very fre-
123 quent, except among the Bakañi, although friend Luchu, at
674 the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether
trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaf camp arose

• (48) because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my
stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with
* 171 us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaf. Always and
186 without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who
had done the stealing. The people living together also had little
that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could
scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is
nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals
rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakañi
kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good"
("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same
time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from for-
[794] eigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from
outside sorcerers.

193 /391 cont./ "one of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the fight by
131 another Bakairi; at that time there were serious conflicts within
[67] the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the
Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakairi moved from
the salto to the Kulisehu.

[341] Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a
"tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West
[41] Bakairi. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the
Auetô on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the
Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakairi are
[67] said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on
the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have ob-
[77] tained mandioca twigs, batatas, and *cará* /Dioscorea/ fruits
from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult
to say, however, when the separation between West and East
Bakairi took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts.
[101] Just as the tribe of the Auetô and of the Nahuquá appears in the
tradition of the Paranatinga village, so have the names of the
rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinaká /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti,
Kustenai /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and
Trumaf, been known there from the times of Caetano's grand-
fathers. In the third Bakairi village on the Batovy we found a
small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former
times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits
back and forth may have occurred, or at least Paranatinga-Bakairi
may now and then have reached the Schingü.

[67] In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual
separation of the two Bakairi groups took place around the middle
or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the
Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of
the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual in-
ternal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent
neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable
Bakairi.

195 In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/,
648 Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabi /Caçabi/ are given as

Afaca SP2
Kayabi
Mundurucu SP3

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648 enemies of the Bakairi, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region. of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakairi

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* Notícia da Província de Mato Grosso, S.
Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language: unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakairi, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimestral do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakairi, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldejert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Bakairi lived in the province of Pará, among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso": the Mundurukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingó area with their attacks. The Bakairi, who called them "Mundurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

The chief enemies of the West Bakairi, and probably even of the united Bakairi, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabi. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Direcçõria dos Índios. The following is what I was

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The following is what I was

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[101] gradually able to learn about them from the Bakalif. The Kayabi call themselves Parusi; they are said to be -- but this requires confirmation -- relatives of the Kamayurá on the Kulisebu, according to their language, and would therefore be a Tupi tribe. A
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[241] They are strong people and, like the Tupi tribe of Apiaká living nearby, practitioners of anthropophagy. They plant mandioca, maize, batatas, mandiú, etc., just like the rest. They have nicely worked clubs of kamayura palm-wood with plaiting around them, which, about one and a half meters long, have the shape of flat staffs and are worn in a rope on the arm. In this respect, too, they would correspond with the Kamayurá. The arrows are of kamayura reed, like those of the Yuruna, but smaller. They do not have throwing boards -- an important difference from the Kamayurá.

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[131] The Kayabi live on the Rio Verde, whose sources lie between the Rio Novo village and the Paranaatinga village of the Bakalif and which flows into the Paranaatinga from the right, below the famous salto. They are therefore, of course, the very closest neighbors of the Bakalif. The hostility has existed since ancient times. Only in the very beginning did they tolerate each other; it is said that the Kayabi appeared among the Bakalif in order to live near them and settled along a brook in their vicinity, then the strife began. I recall the Kayabi of the Keri legend; there they already appear in heaven, cf. p. 448. The old Bakalif are said to have traveled down the Paranaatinga to below the Rio Verde and /393/ to have come back again out of fear of the Kayabi. The Kayabi possessed more axes and that had given rise to conflicts.

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[721] More specific information was reported to me about clashes in more recent times. The Kayabi killed the father of Felipe; they attacked at night and also took a child along. Antonio's grandfather, father, and uncle pushed forward as far as the mouth of the Rio Verde, the Kayabi were hunting there and looking for mussels. The Bakalif arrived in the afternoon and cautiously held back, but early in the morning, when the Kayabi were still

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lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimeca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí, * who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1: Steinen/. Emotionally written Cayabi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakabí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakabí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingé, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakabí fled there from the Kayabí. It is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingé, are a true Gê tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagés /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arizos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingé and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakabí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

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A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingil. Ityacinho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

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 In the south and southeast the West Bakairi evidently had friendly relations with the Gês tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuyabá, but the Bakairi, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáfo" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kulicheu Bakairi, as the latter informed me.

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 Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakairi extends to the west: the Pareusi are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Pareusi, live the "Woimari" and "Encusi," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Pareusi, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimari," as we shall see in the discussion of the Pareusi. The "Encusi" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

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 This is all that I could learn from the West Bakairi about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakairi were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

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1. Historical Data on the Bakairi /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

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1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens.
Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairi up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairi themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairi, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairi who lived on the Rio Paraitinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Parezi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

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2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/.
Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairi in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

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respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí

Andrés, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabí/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kuliseia and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kuliseia in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaiti, on the Rio Kuliseia. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Barrovo and Kuliseia river. This fact had such an incisive

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influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairi in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairi who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Colorado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairi a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairi who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Teles Pires) as western Bakairi and the eastern Bakairi, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairi groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, one would reach a big river on which it was said that Bakairi also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v. d. Steinen. Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 182.

place between the western Bakairi and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

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Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairi of the Batovy and Kulische rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any Euro-
 pean influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien
 (5). I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

b. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Ergebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairi, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairi and their neighbors the Kayabi /Cayabi/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairi. Contact between these two Bakairi groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairi, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairi, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairi, Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairi, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairi at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

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Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairi, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairi population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairi of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairi was much smaller because three Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairi at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, and some of these were not expected to return. (9) This number

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9. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressi women and the two Kayabi women who were married to Bakairi men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairi village again, in the year 1887, one Bakairi man had died in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressi and Kayabi women, the total number for all the Bakairi of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

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The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairi were at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairi units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

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Reginaldo, who ruled the two Bakairi villages on the Rio Novo, held the grade of "captain" and his intended successor, Joaquim, was a "lieutenant." In the village on the Rio Paracatinga the administration had deprived old chief Caetano, whose age was calculated at 80 years, of the chiefship and had entrusted it to a younger man called Felipe who had the rank of "captain," in the year 1882.

The way of life of the western Bakairi, at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions differed little from that of the Brazilian campesinos. Already from the year 1820 they had all been baptized. Men's and women's dress was similar in general to that of the campesinos as the style of their rectangular houses was similar to the Brazilian rancho. Besides some dogs many pigs and chickens were raised. Cattle was also raised, and they had some milch cows and a herd of oxen. They planted manioc, maize, poroto /var. of French bean, from Quechua purutu/. rice, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and a little tobacco. This agriculture was carried out to a sufficient degree to permit them to sell a surplus to the cattle ranch at Corrego Fundo. An important element of nourishment was provided the Rio Paracatinga Bakairi by the abundance of fish in the river, and especially the excellent matrinchan that was caught in the season of its collective migration upriver. (10) These western Bakairi worked then

10. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit.,
p. 23.

on a temporary basis for neighboring ranches, but they also produced rubber for their own use and brought the product with their herd of oxen to Cuiabá.

In spite of this almost complete assimilation of the western Bakairi to the ways of life of Brazilian campesinos, they still kept some of their ancestral customs. Above all they kept their native language, and only a few understood and spoke some Portuguese.

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106 Portuguese. The lobes of their ears and the nasal septa were
 177 still perforated, and Cacique Reginaldo sometimes wore, in
 178 addition to his captain's uniform, the little sticks adorned with
 feathers in his ear lobes as well. In the aldeia of the Paranaatinga
 Bakairi there still stood in the year 1884, besides the /15/
 rectangular houses in the Brazilian rancho style, a round hut
 built like the houses of the eastern Bakairi who live in the regions
 of the headwaters of the Xingu River, in which lived an old
 Bakairi man with a young Kayabi woman. Bows and arrows were
 still used, occasionally, for hunting and fishing, and among the
 plaited objects had been kept the ancestral forms of the large
 twig baskets, sieves, and hammocks.

175 In the aldeia of the Paranaatinga Bakairi the order of things
 622 was gravely disturbed at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
 648 expeditions (11) because the occupants of this village felt greater
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11. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch
Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120.

loyalty to the old cacique, Caetano, than to Cacique Felipe,
 installed as cacique instead of the former by the Mato Grosso
 government. The Bakairi, Antonio, who accompanied Karl von
 115 den Steinen on his expeditions to the Xingu River and who later
 became the most important figure in the history of the Bakairi,
 was then a youth.

175 The western Bakairi were at that time the Indians to whom
 648 had come the most remote shoots of European culture in these
 regions. What was farther on was still unexplored land, with
 free Indians, because of whom the mobility of the Bakairi was
 hampered to a high degree. It seems that the Bakairi to the
 south and southwest had peaceful relations with the Kayapó
 /Cayapo/ with whom, in earlier times, they had once been
 allied in order jointly to expel the Suyá from the Rio Verde
 region. (12) This friendship is interesting in so far as the Kayapó

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12. Karl v. d. Soemen, Unter den Naturvölkern, I. C., p. 383.

of this period were marked enemies of the Brazilian campesinos, and to whom we must attribute the attacks against the ranches of the upper Cunahí River, attributed in Brazilian documents to the "Coroado." (13) The incursions of the Mundurucú

13. Ibid., p. 394.

Mundurucú/, who had extended farther south in earlier times, were still clearly remembered by the western Bakairí, but in this period the former did not appear. The principal enemies were undoubtedly the Kayabí of the Rio Verde with whom they had long lived in a state of intense hostility. The Bakairí place their ancestral land at the famous falls of the Rio Paratinga (Rio Telles Pires), located upriver from the mouth of the Rio Verde. They said that old Cacique Caetano's had been born in the old aldeia situated at the falls. It was said that at that time the Rio Paratinga Bakairí had traveled to just below the mouth of the Rio Verde but had later returned from fear of the Kayabí. Cacique Caetano's father had already been born in an aldeia situated farther upriver. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, in his expedition down the Rio Paratinga (Rio Telles Pires), found habitation ruins below the mouth of the Beija-flor near the Cerro de Piquirizal and on the right side of the river, where it was said that the Bakairí had had a large aldeia in former times. It is also said that they fought with the Kayabí and the Tapanhuna /Tapanyuns/ when they lived in this place. (14) Undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer to

14. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 69.

173 /16 cont./ ~~undoubtedly~~ the Bakairi had /16/ lived closer to
 648 the Kayabi than in later times, because they had moved their
 726 aldeas successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
 727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabi
 361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this
 account some 20 Bakairi men had undertaken an expedition for
 revenge and had killed two Kayabi men and carried away two
 girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's
 expeditions in the aldeas situated on the Paranatinga River,
 where they were married to two Bakairi men and were called
 Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among
 the Bakairi of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given
 the fact that the population of the Bakairi of the Paranatinga
 River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later
 location, the Kayabi remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairi were known by the Pareisi as old neighbors,
 727 and the Pareisi, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe,
 had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairi. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch
Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122.
Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern,
 loc. cit., p. 34.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Pareisi
 648 with those of the Bakairi of the Paranatinga River, noted by
 177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there
 was extensive contact between the western Bakairi and the
 Pareisi. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the

16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den
Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364
 and 365.

eastern Bakairi, who live in the region of the tributaries of the
 Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

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1974 correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From
184 the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and
648 Karbe, who represent in Bakairi legends the sun and the moon,
773 are not words of the Bakairi language (which belongs to the
177 Karaib /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ lingu-
istic group, it follows that the Paressi, who belong to this
linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends
rather than the Bakairi, and thus that the legends of the
Paranatinga Bakairi were influenced by the Paressi; just as the
Bakairi are mentioned in the legends of the Paressi, the latter
are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairi. According
to Paressi legends, the Bakairi, or Matokoso as they are called
by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of
Chinikalore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen),
the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamazo and the latter's
wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamazo,
who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikalore in the texts of Paressi legends. In these
legends Chinikalore, from whose six arrows the Bakairi were
born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be
assumed that the Bakairi, who belonged to his kin group, were
also enemies of the Paressi. On this basis, relations between
the Bakairi and the Paressi were already hostile in former times,
and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den
Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairi had
195 attacked the Paressi on the road that leads to Diamantino, to
726 capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e.,
729 Paressi men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the
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18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabi women, two Paressi women were also living among

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622 of the Paranatinga Bakairi was already the same Antonio who had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his two expeditions to the Xingu River and who had become acquainted on his return from the first of these expeditions with Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. President Antonio Correa da Costa confirmed his caciqueship, extending his authority over the whole region of the Indians who lived on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, naming him the comandante of all the Indians of the upper Xingu River. This extension of the authority of Cacique Antonio by the president of the state was instigated, according to Herrmann Meyer, (22) by the same Paulo Castro who, in the

22. Dr. Herrmann Meyer, "Über seine zweite Reise in Central-Brasilien (IV. Xingü-Expedition) /On His Second Journey in Central Brazil (IV. Xingu Expedition)/," aus einem Brief an Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl von den Steinen /From a letter to Prof. Karl von den Steinen/, Cuiabá, d. March 5, 1899, (Vest. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin. Vol. XXVI, 1899, pp. 261-265), p. 265.

years following his participation in Karl von den Steinen's expedition to the Xingu River, traveled through these regions several times in his tireless search for the "martyrs," and thus had had the opportunity to meet the Bakairi of the Paranatinga. Cacique Antonio then for a long time was the most influential figure in the subsequent development not only of the western Bakairi but also of the eastern Bakairi. He had been born in the Limoeira handicrafts center and came from a family who had lived for a long time in the Rio Paranatinga aldeia. The most remote ancestors of whom he had knowledge had still

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648 lived in the vicinity of the falls. His grandfather, Karavako, and his father, Sesiari, had participated in the above-mentioned expedition for revenge undertaken against the Kayabi in which the two Kayabi women who lived in the Rio Paranatinga aldea were captured. At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, his parents were no longer living, but he had an older brother living with his wife and with a small son in the Paranatinga aldea. As a companion to Karl von den Steinen in the year 1888, Antonio had met in the Reduccion de Bororo de Thereza Christina, situated on the Rio S. Lourenço /São Lourenço River/, the Bororo Indian woman Rosa, well known for the fact that while a prisoner of Officer Duarte, she had undertaken to mediate in the agreement /?convencia/ between Bororo and Brazilians so that it became possible to establish the above-mentioned Bororo reduccion /pueblo of Christianized Indians/. She was a widow at the time and Antonio took her along toward the Paranatinga. Rosa brought with her a small son, five or six years of age, who was raised in the house of Cacique Antonio and who later, under the name of José /19/ Coroado, achieved a certain stature in the Bakairi community of the Paranatinga, so that I must refer to him several times in what follows.

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166 Already in the last decade of the past century, when Herrmann Meyer passed the aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairi in his two expeditions to the Xingu River in the years 1896 and 1899, much activity was taking place there. (23) Antonio with

[113] 23. Dr. Herrmann Meyer: "Über seine Expedition nach Zentral-Brasilien /On His Expedition toward Central Brazil/," March 6. Verhandl. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin, Vol. XXIV, 1897, pp. 172-198. Idem., "Bericht über eine zweite

/19 cont./

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● 648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetó in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

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36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of the two aldeas of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

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36) look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo.
The main aldeia of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

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[62] Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldeia of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldeia there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

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231) also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

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[191] Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairi language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairi maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairi they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairi Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldeia and who had a young Bakairi from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

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161 Different were the conditions of the Bakairi in the Rio Paranatinga aldeia at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldeia had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairi from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairi, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, [648] officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair [411] of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against insubordinate fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldeia were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabi who had unquestionably begun at this time to

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- 701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
● 648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht
uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition,"
loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Sefior Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

- 622 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been
342 built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which
communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other
rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique
and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for
guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men
342 and boys of the aldeia could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table
and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was
entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen.
He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works
about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

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182 /23 cont./

756 aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

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When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairi in May and June of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land.

They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors, matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering their native products they had become amply provided with such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of

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the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-

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giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians, was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,

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fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture

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was also carried out in the same manner and with the same

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jigging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who passed through these regions. There were large plantations in

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the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti, situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians proudly showed me a spot planted in sweet /mansa, "mild"/ manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio Paranatinga Bakairi. During my stay among the Bakairi of Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I and my companions were always generously provided with manioc cakes /beijūs/. I mention this fact especially, because

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648 it contrasts with Herrmann Meyer's observation, made two years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among the same Bakairi. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht über seine zweite Xingü-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairi, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairi, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairi the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairi at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairi at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier, should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate Herrmann Meyer's comment that the Bakairi of the first two aldeas on the Rio Kulisehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kulisehu Bakairi which I visited each consisted of four large houses of kin folk, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in Maimaieti aldeia were quite new and made a good impression inside and outside. About one league from Maimaieti were the then abandoned houses of the old aldeia which the Bakairi of Maimaieti had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /arpia/, was kept on

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114 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account
161 a population in Maimaeti of more than 45 persons. I have
361 already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldeia
at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den
Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added
is the population of the aldeia recently founded between the
Kulisehu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, be-
cause it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded
by Rio Kulisehu Bakairi and a part of the Xinguanos, who have
moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to
681 the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been placed
out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairi of
the Kulisehu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayauapi
the first aldeia on the Kulisehu, who had first helped Karl von
den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been
assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the
time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the
inhabitants of this same aldeia had lain in wait for José Corado
because he had become too involved /26/ with the women

648 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the
198 relations of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairi with the other tribes that
lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the
Mehinaku /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the
time because these Indians envied the Bakairi for having re-
ceived the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the
explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kulisehu Bakairi, after their
first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before
without being discommoded by others. Their social organiza-
tion, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their
customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among
them still almost the same as in former times.

114 We received the first information on the Bakairi, after
361 my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa,
who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/27 cont. /

162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
361 children lived with their cacique in the new aldeia. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on
the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still
chief of the old aldeia on the Rio Paranatinga, which still con-
sisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc,
maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[23] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[64] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher
Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this
time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region
around by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio
Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and occupied for many years by
the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc.
cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldeia consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldeia, which consisted of three large houses, also had good
plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

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114 died a short time before. Cacique Karín, who in times past
 115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaleri aldeia, was still
 159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
 622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had
 died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already
 old and had remained with his family and a few people at the
 location of the old Bakairi aldeia of the Paranatinga Bakairi.

622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
 159 by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
 619 belonged to him and his Bakairi, and he did not want to leave
 648 his aldeia so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
 114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes
 Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recog-
 nize the authority of the Post administration, according to
 which the Bakairi, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguano
 in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part
 of the Bakairi of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met
 Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still
Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen.
 Among other news received from the Bakairi in Cuiabá, I heard
 that José Coroadó and his brother-in-law Chico, who had ac-
 companied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio
 Kulischu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
 622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
 159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldeia, but he himself
 (123) visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was
 very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to
 a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa
 Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife.
 The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his
 house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition
 of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I
 visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also

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114 dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears
115 little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den
[107] Steinen some 39 years earlier. In another house there still
lived Luisa Kayabi, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when
she was the young wife of old Cacique Caetano.

114 Most of the Bakairi whom I had known 26 years before in
731 Maigeri and Maimaieti aldeas had perished in a flu epidemic
753 that had wreaked havoc among the population of Mato Grosso
648 some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among
361 the Bakairi of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witch-
[166] craft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Mehinaku and
the Nahuku, who had been envious of the economic benefits
derived by the Bakairi from their contact with civilization, all
the Bakairi of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers had moved to the
Rio Paranatinga. Undoubtedly petty jealousies and other dis-
cords had caused these Bakairi, called Xinguanos, not to get
along with their fellow natives on the Paranatinga, and for this
reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther
downriver. I found the first of these Xinguanos settlements at the
place where the Rio Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It
was situated on the right side of this river and consisted of four
small houses. (Cf. Figures 21 and 22.) A little farther down-
river I reached a Bakairi plantation near which was a rancho
occupied by some people. (Cf. Figure 20.)

361 /31/ From there a path led to the principal settlement of
622 the Bakairi who had moved from the Rio Kulisehu. It consisted
159 of two rather large houses. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a
114 little farther downriver there were some more settlements, and
487 among them also that of my old friend from Maimaieti aldea,
Karfa. I had already encountered Karfa when I visited Cacique
Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique,
622 and I was told that at the time of my stay in Maimaieti he had
159 merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother
114 who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

361 /33 cont. / According To

648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairi aldeas, so that the Indians kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried to teach the Bakairi youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairi wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairi in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the post administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairi, who in former times had led a seminomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairi of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kulisehu, with the possible exception of the Trumai, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their activities, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the closest hill, were little by little moved too distant from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairi, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga."

/34 cont. /

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304 tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairi of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

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648 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairi unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the *Inspeccão da Protecção aos Indios* /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairi population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

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178 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairi in Bakairi history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

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179 II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairi of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairi, I mention that the sedentary Bakairi on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

/260 cont./

131 Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim
361 that in the past all the Bakairi lived in aldeas by the Parana-
173 tinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy
131 groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal
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2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairi, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairi" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairi on the sources of the

619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great
175 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last
731 Bakairi found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes
248 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser-
166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairi, practically as a whole, adopted
619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live
175 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service.
184 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite
[178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairi, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

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As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairi, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairi language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

[P69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairi is based on
 [10] field work done among the Bacairi living in the
 Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
 [12] in June 1947. The field work was carried out
 in the course of a reconnaissance survey which
 the writer was then making of some of the central
 and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.

[12] This and other trips at the time were made in a
 Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by
 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By using a
 truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made
 over the Planalto do Matogrosso in 2 days in
 contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá
 which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from
 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by
 Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de
 Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev.
 Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the
 South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.

[15] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among
 the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting inform-
 ants and in adding to our knowledge of the
 Bacairi.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the

361 Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção
 aos Índios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi
 living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State,
 Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão
 Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of

173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The

361 Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally

167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters

648 of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other
 Indians and Brazilians forced them to move
 about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the
 tribe split, one group moving north to settle on
 the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the
 Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo.
 After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this
 group moved to the present location of Simão
 Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement

177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo

166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages

648 without Government help, some have moved to
 Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on
 reservation lands and receive assistance from the
 Brazilian Government.

clearing. After dropping a sack filled with trade goods, we flew back to Cuyabá, surprising its population for the second time by our safe return. On this trip we had been away almost the entire day, so that practically no hope was held out for us, though there was a rumor that we had found gold, which caused our delay.

The distance from Cuyabá to where the plane could land on the Xingu was so great that if we wanted to do any further air exploring we had to get a deposit of gasoline there. It was therefore decided that I was to transport overland ten cases of gasoline. The plane would pay my party a visit on the sixth week after my departure from Cuyabá, that being the time calculated that it would take to reach it overland, at the same place where we had landed at the mouth of the Kuluseu.

After recruiting four men in Cuyabá, three of whom were recommended by Major Noronha and proved to be the finest that could be employed, we set off for the Bakairi post in two motor trucks. Our baggage consisted of airplane gasoline, an outboard motor, gasoline and oil for it, trading goods, personal equipment and food. No tents were taken for shelter, nor canvas canoes, and so forth. Our food consisted of manioc flour, beans, rice, coffee and meat. In addition, we carried six sealed tins containing emergency rations for a few days, of which we had occasion to make use later. Our camping equipment was as simple as that of the camarada, merely a hammock, blanket and mosquito net. Our only luxury was a portable phonograph, which as long as we had it helped to keep the men and aborigines in good humor.

It took us three days to reach the Bakairi post, after an early end of the expedition was threatened by the breaking of two wheels of the truck. Beyond Chapada the road is good. This section was built by the Bakairi under the direction of Major Noronha. On our way we stopped at the Protestant Mission at Burity, where we were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Moser. It is on the property of the Mission that the Veio de Noiva Falls are.

THE BAKAIRI

The peoples of a number of villages speaking Bakairi have been collected at the post, Simão Lopes, on the Paranatinga river. The post consists of a number of excellent government buildings in charge of an agent and a small staff. A little distance away is the Bakairi village, in

Bakairi SP7
Mato Grosso SP1B
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a wire fence enclosure. The effort of the Inspectoria has been to give aborigines the isolation that they want and not to interfere in anything that they may do. The tribal organization is kept as of old, and the Bakairi lead their own life in their own way. They are not forced to stay at the post, or in any way bound to do as the agent says. The agent is merely a teacher. He talks to them and advises them on any problem that may be facing them, but it is understood that they are free men and that they can do as they please.

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The post maintains a school, the effort being made to teach every child to read and write Portuguese and to learn the rudiments of arithmetic. In addition to this, an attempt is made to teach them vocations, such as weaving on the loom, tailoring, shoemaking, barbering, and so forth. Generally, if a boy shows unusual talent he is taken to Cuyabá and even to Rio de Janeiro to be given further instruction. This education is not compulsory, however, though most of the Bakairi take advantage of the opportunity. It is the project of the Inspectoria to form good self-sustaining citizens of such groups of the native population as come under its tutelage.

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The post has a herd of cattle and the Indians are being taught the principles of cattle raising. It is the desire of every Bakairi to own cattle. No attempt is made to turn the Bakairi into a sedentary agricultural people, it being thought unwise to attempt to transform the manner of life of the Bakairi by tying them down to the soil, when they have been used to a semi-nomadic existence. On the other hand, they

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are encouraged to practice some agriculture, raising manioc, sweet potatoes, some maize and cotton. Each man clears his own land yearly, and plants his foods.

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In spite of the liberal attitude and practice of the Inspectoria the Bakairi have been dying fast. Fevers seem to decimate them rapidly, though all efforts are made to keep medical supplies on hand and to supply medical attention. Their life is not as strenuous as formerly, because of the improved methods, and this may account for the lowered resistance. On the other hand, there is no doubt but that at the headwaters of the Paranatinga it is less healthy than in the region of their former homes. Even the Indians from the lower Kuluasu who followed our expedition on its return to the post suffered greatly from fevers upon reaching it, though it was the dry season and there were few insects.

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Bakairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Naura SP18
Ururui SP23

622 pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed
554 that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders,
[562] a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

080 Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsize by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

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Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

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On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

Trumai SP23

Bakairi SP7

Yaruma SP25

The Trumai were met on the west bank of the Kulene, between the Analukua and Mehinaku posts. They had no canoes. We learned that their village was close to the Batovy. It would seem that they also have shifted their village site since Von den Steinen's encounter with them.

All of these people live at peace with each other, though of course quarrels arose at times. Their common enemies are, however, the tribes living to the east and west, tribes that roam across the headwaters and depend on hunting rather than fishing for food.

The Bakairi gave the following list of tribes that are supposed to live in the forests east of the Kulene: Kayasho (Kayapo); Kaviji; Turi; Maritava; P'hoi, who are pygmies, a little over a metre high; Peneloko, who are a very large people; Tsuyakadi, who also are very large; Yaruma; Suyu; Touruma; and, on the Paranatinga, the Tomali, who are also known as Kayabi, Kajabi; Apiakala (Apiaka) and the Pana, who are a very tall people.

The Kalapulu gave the names of the following tribes who are supposed to live to the east of the Kulene and with whom they are permanently in a state of war: lower part of Kulene, the Sinya (Suya) and Touruma (Juruma); directly to the east of their village, the Ahinkuti, Turi, Jaruma, Tumbiyaka, Kayapo (big feet) Alinsowa, Aiva, Yahi, Ravine, Aruga (hide away to kill people), Yarpiton (kill people), Tahulji (pygmies). [See map, Plate XXV.]

Our attempt to meet some of these tribes that are supposed to have their villages close to the banks of the Seventh of September river was not successful. In view of the above linguistic grouping of the tribes, it is interesting to note their attitude toward each other. The Bakairi, who are Caribs, distrust and fear the Analukua, who are of the same linguistic stock, affirming to me again and again that they are a bad people. They were relieved when we left their neighborhood. On the other hand they praised the Mehinaku, and were not even afraid to leave their goods about. The Mehinaku are Arawaks. My canoe men were also at ease with the Aura and the Yawalapiti, and seemed to expect nothing from the Trumai, whom they considered an inferior and poor people. The Auiti were watched with suspicion, but the Kamayula were actually feared, as well as the Tsuya, Kuikuti and Kalapulu, the first being Tupi, and the last three Caribs; but the Parakute were praised for their honesty and peaceful disposition, and seemed to recognize in the Bakairi.

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[609] Kinsmen. One of my Bakairi was treated as a headman, loaded with presents and made to lead a dance, taking the place of the master of ceremonies, by these people.

The Mehinaku were in fear of all the tribes but the Aura and Yawalapiti, who are also Arawaks. The Kamayula and especially the Kuikui were feared by all.

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In our contact with these tribes, the fears of the Bakairi and the Mehinaku seemed to be somewhat justified, though at no time did we clash with any group. Disputes sometimes arose, springing from the difficulty of making our mutual requests understood, but we were able to settle everything amicably. At one time we were warned that the Kamayula were lying in wait for us, having resented our failure to visit their village, which was due to my inability to walk at the time. However, on passing the place where they were supposed to be in ambush, we were not molested. We were told that, having waited for us several days, their food supplies had been exhausted, and that they had gone to their village for food. The Kuikui were a little troublesome, being somewhat arrogant, yet several of their men performed excellent and quiet service, for the axes and knives that were given them. All of the tribes met have been very little affected by the outside world; in fact, the only articles that we saw not of their own manufacture were a few nails which had been converted into arrow points. Thus, in our dealings with them we had to depend entirely on trade goods. Knives were wanted and prized by all, but axes were not wanted. Fish hooks of all sizes, and fishing lines were wanted and given to everyone. Clothing was wanted as a protection from the insects, but we were not supplied with it. Necklaces came next in importance as trade goods. Other objects were taken, but not with the same enthusiasm as the ones mentioned.

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In the region under discussion, three of the most widely disseminated linguistic stocks are represented, and yet no appreciable differences in their material culture were discovered in the field. An examination of the collections that have been brought back has resulted in verifying the first impression.

All are a fishing people, and the methods employed are common to all; manioc is the other food staple, and the associated traits in the cultivation and preparation of it are found in every village; the houses are constructed in the same manner; the bows and arrows used are